

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PRAGUE 00897 01 OF 02 081210Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 CU-02 IO-13 DHA-02 /075 W  
-----081304Z 121914 /13

R 081000Z APR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2416  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY OLSO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION NATO  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
USMISSION USUN  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PRAGUE 0897

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, SHUM, CSCE, CZ  
SUBJECT: CHARTER 77 -- VITAL SIGNS STILL DETECTIBLE

1. SUMMARY: WE HAVE OBTAINED SLIGHTLY CONTRADICTORY INFORMATION  
OF THE FUTURE COURSE OF CHARTER 77 ACTIVITY, WHICH NONETHELESS  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PRAGUE 00897 01 OF 02 081210Z

CONFIRMS THAT THE MOVEMENT IS FAR FROM DEAD. FOR ITS PART, THE  
REGIME CONTINUES TO MOUNT INCREASING PRESSURE. END SUMMARY.

2. FUTURE CHARTER ACTIVITY: ONE SOURCE HAS TOLD US THAT AT A  
RECENT MEETING IN PAVEL KOHOUT'S APARTMENT A GROUP OF CHARTER  
ADHERENTS AGREED THAT AT LEAST TWO MORE CHARTER DOCUMENTS (ONE  
DISCUSSING RESTRICTIONS ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOMS, THE OTHER

ON CULTURAL POLICY) SHOULD BE RELEASED SHORTLY UNDER JIRI HAJEK'S SIGNATURE AND SIGNED ALSO BY A "GUARANTOR" OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF HAJEK'S SIGNATURE. THIS SOURCE SAID THAT THE QUESTION OF DESIGNATION OF FUTURE SPOKESMEN HAS BEEN DISCUSSED FROM TIME TO TIME BUT LEFT UP IN THE AIR.

3. ANOTHER SOURCE SAYS THAT THREE NEW SPOKESMEN HAVE BEEN CHOSEN AND A CONSENSUS OF THEIR ACCEPTABILITY IS BEING SOUGHT FROM OTHER CHARTER ADHERENTS. THE NAMES GIVEN TO US ARE: DR. VACLAY CERNY, 72, A SCHOLAR OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE AND FORMER PROFESSOR AT CHARLES UNIVERSITY; DR. VLADIMIR KADLEC, 65, ONCE RECTOR OF THE PRAGUE SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, MEMBER OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION OF THE CPCZ CC AND LATER (FROM 1966) A MEMBER OF THE CC, AS ASSOCIATE OF OTA SIK, APPOINTED MINISTER OF EDUCATION IN APRIL 1968 (REPLACING JIRI HAJEK), OUSTED FROM OFFICE WITH THE FALL OF DUBCEK AND FORBIDDEN TO LECTURE ON ECONOMICS AFTER FALL 1969; AND GERTRUDE SEKANINOVA-CAKRTOVA, A FORMER DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER (1950S) AND OFFICIAL IN THE EDUCATION MINISTRY (1967), ONE OF FOUR NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES IN OCTOBER 1968 TO VOTE AGAINST THE SOVIET OCCUPATION TREATY, AND WIDOW OF A PRE-WAR COMMUNIST LAWYER WHO, AMONG OTHER THINGS, DEFENDED GEORGY DIMITROV IN THE REICHSTAG FIRE CASE.

4. REGIME ACTIONS: DURING THE PAST WEEK THE MEDIA HAVE CONTINUED THEIR PERSONAL ATTACKS ON DISSIDENT LEADERS, WITH MLYNAR, HAVEL AND KOHOUT BEING SINGLED OUT FOR SPECIAL ATTENTION. THOSE DISSIDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN UNDER SEMI-HOUSE ARREST REMAIN SO, ALTHOUGH THIS APPEARS TO KEEP ONLY WESTERN CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PRAGUE 00897 01 OF 02 081210Z

JOURNALISTS --AND NOT OTHER CZECHS-- FROM SEEING THEM.

5. A JOINT SESSION OF THE TWO HOUSES OF THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY TO HEAR REPORTS FROM THE GENERAL PROSECUTOR AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SUPREME COURT ON THE STATE OF SOCIALIST LEGALITY HELPED PUT ADDITIONAL PRESSURES ON CHARTER SUPPORTERS. THE PROSECUTOR CITED CZECHOSLOVAK LEGAL GUARANTEES OF CIVIL RIGHTS, BUT NOTED THAT "...SOCIALIST LAWS ARE A FUNDAMENTAL INSTRUMENT OF PROTECTING THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF OUR WORKING CLASS..." AND THAT "WE SHALL ACT REPRESSIVELY AGAINST ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM..." HE CLOSED HIS STATEMENT WITH A PLEDGE THAT THE AUTHORITIES WOULD NOT INDEFINITELY PUT OFF PROSECUTIONS (IN HOPES OF REHABILITATING OFFENDERS) OF EITHER RECIDIVIST CRIMINALS OR "...THOSE WHO WOULD LIKE TO DISRUPT THE REPUBLIC." THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ASSEMBLY APPROVING THESE REPORTS INCLUDED A CLAUSE URGING THE PROSECUTORS AND THE COURTS TO DEVOTE ATTENTION TO PROTECTING THE SOCIALIST SOCIAL SYSTEM AND TO BRING JUST AND PROMPT PUNISHMENT TO THOSE WHOSE ACTIONS CONFLICT WITH THE LAW.

COMMENT: THE REPORT OF THE PRSECUTOR AND THE RESOLUTION DO NOT NECESSARILY DIFFER IN SUBSTANCE FROM SIMILAR DOCUMENTS PRODUCED IN OTHER YEARS, BUT, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ASSEMBLY "DEBATE" IN WHICH MUCH ATTENTION WAS DEVOTED TO ALLEGED WESTERN EFFORTS TO USE THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, THE WORDING SERVES TO BRING FURTHER PRESSURE ON DISSIDENTS. LEGCCLATIVE APPROVAL OF THE ACTIONS OF PUBLICCLACURITY ORGANS PROVIDES STILL ANOTHER LEGAL BASIS FOR PROSECUTION OF DISSIDENTS FOR ANTI-STATE OR ANTI-SOCIALIST ACTIVITY. END COMMENT.

6. WE HAVE RECEIVED A COPY OF A DOCUMENT WHICH PURPORTS TO BE A SUMMARY OF TWO SPEECHES GIVEN TO INTERIOR MINISTER OBZINA, ONE GIVEN IN THE HIGHER PARTY SCHOOL IN FEBRUARY AND THE OTHER IN THE SOCIALIST ACADEMY IN MARCH. IF AUTHENTIC, THE SUMMARY EXPLAINS MUCH ABOUT THE REGIME'S HANDLING OF CHARTER 77 AND CONTRADICTS EMIGRE REPORTS THAT OBZINA HAS PROPOSED FOREIGN CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 PRAGUE 00897 01 OF 02 081210Z

AND INTERNAL EXILE FOR DISSIDENTS. ACCORDING TO THE SUMMARY, OBZINA SAID THAT THE CHARTER ISSUE REFLECTS THE COMPLEX SOCIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PRAGUE 00897 02 OF 02 081219Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 IO-13 CU-02 DHA-02 /075 W  
-----081305Z 122076 /11

R 081000Z APR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2417  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY OLSO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION NATO  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
USMISSION USUN  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PRAGUE 0897

COMPOSITION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, WHOSE POPULATION STILL INCLUDES 100,000 FORMER MEMBERS OF THE BOURGEOIS AND 2 MILLION MEMBERS OF THE PETIT BOURGEOIS, AS WELL AS ABOUT HALF A MILLION EXPELLED PARTY MEMBERS. THE SECURITY POLICE HAD KNOWN ABOUT THE CHARTER IN DECEMBER 1976, BUT COULD NOT GET FULL INFORMATION ON ITS CONTENT OR ITS POTENTIAL SIGNERS. THEY  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PRAGUE 00897 02 OF 02 081219Z

HAD TO LET THE DOCUMENT CIRCULATE BECAUSE IN CURRENT CONDITIONS THERE WAS NO WAY TO STOP IT; FORCE WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN A FULLY EFFECTIVE MEANS OF STOPPING CIRCULATION. HE ALSO NOTED THE EASE OF ACCESS TO WESTERN EMBASSIES IN PRAGUE, CLAIMING THAT THE US EMBASSY ALONE HAD 22,000 VISITORS LAST YEAR. OBZINA SAID THAT HARD REPRESSION WAS EXCLUDED AS A POLICY, MAINLY DUE TO INTERNATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS, ESPECIALLY THE ATTITUDES OF WESTERN CP'S. OBZINA REPORTEDLY SAID THAT THE CHARTER IS A SPECIAL PROBLEM BECAUSE IT HAS BROUGHT TOGETHER THE BEST HEADS OF THE OPPOSITION, WHO DRAFTED A DOCUMENT SO REFINED THAT WITHOUT THE MASSIVE ANTI-CHARTER CAMPAIGN IT MIGHT HAVE ATTRACTED AS MANY AS 2 MILLION SIGNATURES. IT IS DANGEROUS BECAUSE, UNLIKE OTHER INCIDENTS OF DISSIDENCE IN THE LAST 8 YEARS, THE CHARTER DOES NOT START FROM A "SOCIALIST" POSITION, BUT IS A BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC DOCUMENT. OBZINA IS QUOTED AS CONCLUDING BY SAYING THAT HE IS NOT A SECURITY MAN, BUT A PARTY MAN PLACED WHERE HE IS TO ENSURE THAT THE INTERIOR MINISTRY OBEYS PARTY DIRECTIVES AND CARRIES OUT THE INTERESTS OF THE STATE. HE PLEDGED THAT AS LONG AS HE HELD THE JOB THE MINISTRY WOULD FOLLOW NO OTHER COURSE.

COMMENT: THIS IS IN LINE WITH THE EMPHASIS AT THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION ON "SOCIALIST LEGALITY" AND EXPLAINS THE RELATIVE RESTRAINT SHOWN BY THE REGIME IN DEALING WITH CHARTER 77. END COMMENT.

7 VOLUNTARY EXILE: PRAGUE 854 PASSED ALONG A REPORT THAT ZDENEK MLYNAR IS PREPARED TO GO INTO VOLUNTARY EXILE IN AUSTRIA

IF HE CAN BRING ALONG WITH HIM 6-8 OTHER CHARTER SIGNERS.  
A CHARTER SIGNER HAS TOLD THE FRG EMBASSY THAT MLYNAR DOES  
INTEND TO LEAVE, BECAUSE HIS WIFE CAN NO LONGER TAKE THE PRESSURE  
THEY ARE UNDER. IT IS BELIEVED, HOWEVER, THAT THE REGIME IS  
RELUCTANT TO LET SUCH A POWERFUL DISSIDENT VOICE LEAVE. THE SWISS  
EMBASSY INSISTS THAT PAVEL KOHOUT WILL LEAVE HIS HRADCANT  
APARTMENT ABOUT APRIL 15 AND, RATHER THAN MOVE TO THE OTHER APART-  
MENT IN PRAGUE OFFERED HIM BY THE AUTHORITIES, WILL LEAVE THE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PRAGUE 00897 02 OF 02 081219Z

COUNTRY. KOHOUT HAS ASKED THE SWISS IF THEY WOULD ACT AS CARE-  
TAKERS FOR HIS APARTMENT (IN THE SAME BUILDING AS THEIR CHANCERY  
AND RESIDENCE) AND THEY ARE EXPLORING THE IDEA WITH THE MFA  
DIPLOMATIC SERVICES BUREAU.

8. HARASSMENT: WE UNDERSTAND THAT MORE PEOPLE ARE  
BEING PULLED IN FOR QUESTIONING, INCLUDING NON-SIGNERS OF THE  
CHARTER WHO HAVE HELPED IN REPRODUCING AND DISTRIBUTION  
MATERIALS. FOREIGN JOURNALISTS ARE STILL BEING HARASSED IF  
THEY ATTEMPT TO SEE THE MORE PROMINENT CHARTER FIGURES.

9. COMMENT: THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN DISSIDENTS AND REGIME  
GOES ON, ALTHOUGH STILL IN THE MUTED TONES (FROM DISSIDENT SIDE)  
THAT HAVE CHARACTERIZED IT SINCE PATOCKA'S DEATH. IF THE REPORTS  
ABOUT SOME OF THE BETTER KNOWN CHARTER ADHERENTS ACCEPTING  
VOLUNTARY EXILE ARE CORRECT, THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF THIS  
MOVE ON OTHER ADHERENTS WHO CHOOSE TO REMAIN HERE ARE LIKELY  
TO BE TEMPORARY AND MAY INDEED BE POSITIVE, CAUSING SOME  
TO STRENGTHEN THEIR RESOLVE NOT TO GIVE IN TO REGIME PRESSURE.  
IF THE NEW SPOKESMEN MENTIONED ABOVE ARE APPROVED, THEY SHOULD  
PROVIDE SOME USEFUL QUALITIES -- CERNY, LIKE PATOCKA, HAS A SCHOLARLY  
REPUTATION IN WESTERN EUROPE AND MAY CONSIDER HIMSELF OLD  
ENOUGH TO HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE IN ASSUMING A LEADERSHIP ROLE;  
KADLEC HAS DUBCEK-ERA CP-MEMBER CREDENTIALS AND MAY BE ABLE  
TO PROVIDE SOME TRENCHANT CRITICISM OF THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM;  
WE KNOW LESS ABOUT SEKANINOVA-CAKRTOVA, BUT SHE APPEARS TO  
BRING IMPECCABLE PARTY AND ANTI-SOVIET-OCCUPATION  
CREDENTIALS TO THE CAUSE. LIKE THEIR PREDECESSORS, THEY  
WILL NOT PROVIDE CHARISMA TO THE MOVEMENT, BUT THIS AFTER ALL  
IS NOT A MOVEMENT CONCEIVED OF AS REVOLUTIONARY (OR COUNTER-  
REVOLUTIONARY).  
BYRNE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN



## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** REPORTS, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, DISSIDENT FACTIONS, CHARTER 77, POLITICAL SITUATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 08-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977PRAGUE00897  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770123-0217  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** PRAGUE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770474/aaaacmit.tel  
**Line Count:** 270  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 2cff48a8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 19-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2857769  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CHARTER 77 -- VITAL SIGNS STILL DETECTIBLE  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PINT, SHUM, CZ, CSCE  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/2cff48a8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009